I

PRENATAL CARE. BIRTH. CHILDREN.

842 Valuation of children. Every Guajiro family group endeavors to increase the number of its members as much as possible. As a consequence, every birth is acclaimed with happiness so that no newborn suffers from the problem that his arrival may not be welcomed by his parents or relatives. On the contrary, he will always find his place within the group, in which it is hoped that he will play his part adequately.

614 The fact is that the importance of any group depends on the number of its members, as it can be observed that, although some groups are economically strong, the relative scarcity of men causes the loss of directive positions and influence. Relations between clan groups are on a par when they are more or less matched in the number of their males; otherwise any problem pending between them will be decided in favor of the side where the greater influence of the men weighs more. In order to balance forces, the weak group must seek alliance with other groups.

614 554 Notwithstanding the general eagerness to increase numerically in order to keep the balance or a more just social situation throughout the peninsula, there are some groups that are not so inclined. These are those that have fallen into an inferior state which obliges them to be put at the margin of Guajiro life, where they end up suffering all kinds of injustice and ill-treatment from the others who, finding no force to withstand them, profit by this and, for any reason whatsoever, confiscate their property, deny them all rights, and burden them with demeaning situations like bond service. Such, in brief, is the lot of groups that have few male members and few economic resources. This being so, as a sort of passive defense, the women refuse to conceive: They make use of every empirical recourse to limit maternity. They use herbs which are prescribed

614 554 842

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554 for delaying menstruation during the seclusion following the
[893] appearance of puberty, so that the organism may become
weakened and the menstrual cycle no longer appears, with
which their matrimonial life does not bear fruit. They know
beforehand /2/ the destiny of their children. When they become
[567] of useful age a stronger group will fall upon them to enslave
them under any pretext -- such as the loss of an animal whose
disappearance will be attributed to them without any outcry or
civil authority aroused to impede this, and, the injustice in-
flicted being proved, without any punishment being applied to
the aggressor group. Their daughters will be taken as wives
614 without the necessary Guajiro payment, or, simply, they will
554 abuse them, there being no family backing to oppose the de-
593 mands of the men belonging to the stronger groups. If a daughter
should be bought, only a nominal payment will be made to
silence the protests of her family, but later a very heavy matri-
monial retribution will be demanded. Generally, the husband
will brag about the way in which he ill-treats the girl, knowing
that she is unprotected and that her relatives have insufficient
power to demand justice. Thus it is not rare that poor wives
are killed by their husbands after a life in which the unfortunate
women have been subjected to cruel beatings and even mutila-
tion. And if the family has no alliance with any powerful groups,
the death is not indemnified. The mothers also know that should
614 one of their sons, accidentally or in self-defense, wound or kill
554 a member of a stronger family group, the repirsal taken will
628 not be preceded by a demand for compensation payment or any
of the legal requirements usually stipulated, but that his whole
group will be destroyed or enslaved and deprived of its clan
lands, fields, sources of water supply, and personal effects.
For such reasons these weak groups are allowing themselves to
die out by reducing their birth rate to a minimum.

882 Regarding the special wishes of each group as to the sex of
its future descendants, we feel the need of making an analysis
of the valuation which each has in the society.

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562 [842] The father hopes that his first-born will be a boy, as he sees in him a future helper in herding tasks and a companion on long trips. The maternal family also desires that the first-born be a son because, although he does not hereafter increase the family, beoause of /the system of/ matrilinear descent, he does contribute to its prestige, as on the number of males depends the family prestige and influence, since it is they who represent it in situations of conflict with other groups and who, because of this prestige, make it possible for their relatives to live a more peaceful life by checking the misbehavior of members of other groups with the women of their group, maintaining the peaceful equilibrium of the conjugal life and preserving a mutual respect for the rights and duties of both sides.

Furthermore, on their importance depends, indirectly, the maintenance of their womenfolks' social standing, as no other Guajiro /3/ would become involved in acts of violation or seduction against them for fear of reprisal. Their daughters, rather, will be bought by men of their own social rank, which would eliminate the possibility of their being lowered. Also, should a relative die, the indemnity is more certain, for fear that the group might impose payment and justice by its own might.

However, the male members always present difficulties. The women of the group are always bound by the conduct of the men, for whatever illegal act is committed against another group affects them directly as reprisals are directed against them. On the other hand, when it becomes known that the men [579] are foregathering, the women must be near by, because the men overindulge in rum and under its influence become aggressive and give free rein to their dislikes and hatreds. The women's role then is to try to keep arguments from degenerating into wrangling and bloodshed by endeavoring prudently to patch up such difficulties as they develop.

[583] Furthermore, although it is true that male economic help is the greater in cases where the group requires mutual

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co-operation, it is also true that their marriages demand heavy disbursements from everyone, not only in animals but in jewelry -- gold ornaments -- which a man's female relatives give him to be handed over to his future wife as a sign of the engagement. Also, the children of a man's marriage are not his in our sense of the word, so that in spite of the expense borne by the family, it does not become strengthened by the increase. All the children belong to the maternal family group according to Guajiro law.

The wife concurs with her husband in hoping that her first child will be a son but thereafter hopes for a large family of girls, who will enrich and increase the family group to which they belong with children and marriage payments, for a woman in Guajiro society has no less importance than a man, as it is she who transmits relationship and, therefore, increases with her offspring the number of consanguineous relatives. In the woman rest the hopes of her relatives for indemnification for the care they gave her in her youth and the maintenance of her social rank, because, on being bought, the eldest daughter indemnifies her father and his family for the expenses they had in livestock and ornaments in buying her mother. The others, with their marriage payments, increase the maternal income and, to a certain extent augment with this sum the economic backing for future children and for the support of the husband, and form a nest egg to help should any difficult situation of their own or of their family /4/ arise. Moreover, as women have lately been improving the technique of their handwork by the instruction they receive in the Capuchin mission, and these articles are readily sold in the markets of the interior as well as in the neighboring markets of Valledupar and Maracaibo, the woman really constitutes an important economic force that helps to overcome the precarious financial situation in the home, which is aggravated by the intensely hot summers which do not permit all-season agricultural activity and weaken the livestock. With the revenue so obtained she supports her husband, feeds and clothes herself, her children, and her close relatives.

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843 278 Sometimes a woman who knows that her delivery is likely to be difficult takes various herbs, which she buys from the women of the Sierra de Jarara, who understand their curative properties, or gets someone to obtain them from the Arhuaco /Cagaba/ Indians, to whom they frequently go in search of medical remedies.

844 278 At the time that labor pains begin, the woman takes infusions of various herbs which her relatives have previously obtained. With these the delivery progresses rapidly, and the birth occurs quickly and successfully. Also during delivery she takes one or more doses of the juice of the herb which serves to reduce the size of the fetus.

842 278 Once the child is born and in case the placenta is delayed, the woman drinks the juice from the pulp of a pumpkin (Crescecia Cujeta) and that of a new /nueva/ herb with the purpose, once the delivery has occurred, of preventing an early recurrence of pregnancy once sexual life is renewed. This has the property of preventing conception for a period up to four years when taken in larger than normal dosage.

844 If the herbal remedies do not produce the hoped-for result, the woman's relatives with her assistance recapitulate the taboos that were possibly violated during the months of pregnancy by her, by her husband, or by both, and they endeavor to make some sort of reparation. Thus, for example, if she had seen a snake in its hole or if her husband had killed it, or if she had looked fixedly at it and had not complied with the precept to step over it to arrest its baleful influence, as is their belief, her relatives go in search of a snake of the same species, which they kill and bring to place on the abdomen of the woman in labor, after which the delivery is successfully accomplished. Should they find that the husband was hunting with firearms or had simply fired a gun, they proceed to wash /8/ the barrel of the firearm in question and give this water to the woman to drink. With this the delivery is quickly completed.

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A woman tries to maintain these qualities as she well knows that they form the center of attraction to a man and that maternity steadily destroys them. This may be one of the reasons for the increasing use of birth control, for which they take herbs that do not allow them to conceive, abortives of all kinds, and they take advantage of their knowledge of their periods of sterility and avoid sexual intercourse at other than these periods.

Their facial features are of no great importance to them so long as they conform to the anthropological norms of the group. They prefer a face with large, dark eyes and beautiful, healthy teeth. Also, they are especially attracted by the whiteness of the skin as it indicates social standing because it is a sign that the woman is better able to look after herself by protecting herself from the sun of the region. During her /62/ seclusion the girl does not expose herself to the sunlight, and her greatest pride is that her skin has become whiter. Every morning she bathes with water left out previously in the evening dew, which besides having magic effects has the property of whitening the skin, and when she goes visiting she always covers her face with facial paints -- a customary practice required by etiquette, which also protects her from the sun's rays. During her seclusion the girl also complies with other beautifying and magic practices, such as denying herself certain meat like deer meat or animal udder, since this last, for example, will wrinkle her rapidly and she will lose some of her physical attractiveness.

A woman is well aware that her future married life will be affected in great measure by her preserving an agreeable appearance and that if the man does not feel satisfied she will be relegated to second place, and he will acquire another woman. For this reason she continually struggles to benefit by all known means to recapture her husband and retain him and avoid his acquiring other women. This is the reason that the mother, when her daughter is in the hammock ready to be hoisted up during her initiation, places on her a love charm which has the property of attracting men and of which we spoke in a previous chapter.

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840 836 When the girl is of easy virtue /ligera de cascos/, generally a mestizo of low class, she frequently has sexual intercourse while unmarried, hiding it carefully from her relatives. She receives presents from her lover to satisfy her needs or wishes for adornment or clothes which she could never manage to obtain honorably. But she avoids pregnancy, which according to her own ideas is possible by not having sexual relations during the ten days following menstruation, or by obliging the civilizado man with whom she is living to use contraceptives.

836 It also happens sometimes that a middle-class girl, seduced by her sweetheart with the promise of matrimony, consents to live with him and keep their illicit relations secret. The man says to her: "Don't tell anyone, because I cannot buy you for my wife now. If you say nothing, within a year I shall have sufficient money, and then I will buy you. You will see best how you can fix things so that your people do not know." But on occasion the woman becomes pregnant, and her relatives, when they know about it, oblige her to confess who caused her condition, and, as we have said before, she is usually badly beaten. Then they present the compensation claim against the man. The girl's relatives feel that with this act they have been deeply offended, since an abuse of one of their women lowers everyone in the whole clan group, putting them in the class of slaves without relatives to claim retribution for offenses committed against them, and establishing a precedent before all the community which puts them in a position in which all their women can easily be possessed by anyone who feels like it, because no family male power protects them. Also, the men lose prestige as influential persons in the group and as men who are not afraid to face bravely and successfully any situation like the present one to protect the honor of the clan. For this reason, the woman who has had illicit sexual relations and realizes she is pregnant does everything possible, as we have seen, to produce an abortion, and in the majority of cases she is successful. /101/

Because of these difficult situations, when a Guajiro sees a woman friend or relative of his talking to a man, he has no

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833 been deprived of her will and that she does not count as a person. For these reasons she regards her marital life as a hard duty to perform, at odds with her own personality. Possibly, for this reason, the man seeks out the mestizo, who is free of these prejudices and for that reason more capable to give and to derive for herself greater satisfaction from her marital life than the pure Indian woman.

595 As it is not uncommon for a man to have two, three, or even more co-wives living together in one house, his conduct 833 in his conjugal relations must be very circumspect if he wishes to preserve, at least in appearance, a cordial or friendly feeling among them, because if he is not circumspect, jealousies will spring up and a bitter struggle of lengthy repercussions ensue. As each one of the wives endeavors to find a motive that will justify her as superior in the eyes of the others, he has to behave with extreme caution. For this reason he sleeps outside in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ while his women and their children sleep inside the house. He never suggests to any one of them that they should spend the night together, as the one thus favored would announce this preference to place herself on a superior plane. For this reason he receives whichever one goes voluntarily to him to his hammock.

834 The man suspends marital relations during the time the woman's pregnancy is advanced. He does this for fear of causing a miscarriage for which he might be blamed, and because of the belief that it might give rise to a bad delivery.

After the birth of the child, marital life is not resumed until the woman voluntarily asks for it.

842 Ideas about fecundation. The Guajiro knows that fecundation is the result of the combined action of the woman and the man through the means of the sexual act. They know that in this act the man gives an element which joined to the feminine one will form the new being. They say that the [826] woman has in her internal parts a special organ in which this new being will gradually take form, the womb, called in their

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842 language the urá-hu-chon ("place where babies are formed"). But in order to be fruitful the woman must menstruate at regular [826] intervals. Otherwise they will be sterile, and in La Guajira cases of this are known.

They explain the necessity of menstruation for fecundation by saying that after a woman has had her monthly period, in spite of bathing her body and her exterior genital organs most carefully, there remains in the interior of the womb a small quantity of menstrual blood, the last of that period; and when the sexual act occurs, the male sperm mixing with the female blood will form the new being, who from the first moment shows all the characteristics of an adult in miniature /109/ but needs a period of residence in the maternal womb to be nourished and to develop properly. When this moment arrives, birth takes place. They do not know what causes the difference in sex. They think, furthermore, that the female blood beside being a contribution to the initial formation of the new being is also its food, because they have observed the disappearance of the menstrual cycle during pregnancy.

Consequently, for the loss of blood the mother suffers during her pregnancy (nourishment of the fetus) and during the birth, her relatives claim compensation payment from the husband; they demand two payments in this connection which we have already described in a special section of this chapter.

Now we can understand why the payment made in such circumstances cannot be touched or made use of by the woman when it is a payment of animals, because, as we have said, it would mean that she was figuratively consuming herself, as it represents her lost blood, part of her very life.

843 The woman during pregnancy acquires certain magic properties and she finds it necessary to observe a large number of taboos in order to carry to a happy fulfillment the gestation which is taking place. She herself is considered a being of potential and dangerous magic for weak and sick people, whom she must not visit because she will instill a feeling of sorrow and sickness in them, and this could cause them to have a relapse or lead to their death.

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842 The Guajiro also knows that at a fixed time in her life the woman's menstrual cycle ceases, and he affirms that from then onward she will have no more children because her internal organ has "been damaged," that is to say, "it no longer works," and, in consequence is incapable of supplying blood, the female element indispensable for fecundation.

• • •

825 The Guajiro also has his own theory with respect to the fecundation of oviparous birds and animals. He believes that in the sexual act the male deposits in the entrails of the female the masculine element necessary for the formation of the new animal. This masculine element unites with the contribution of the female, and when she lays the egg both parts are working together, and if the process of hatching follows successfully, the result is the new being. They compare this last process with that which has been verified in the womb of the woman, with the difference that the necessary nourishment is to be found in the same elements, feminine and masculine, that form the egg. The warmth is contributed by the parents.

The masculine element in the egg is represented by two parts: the red point, or germinative part, without which the development /110/ of the chick cannot take place; in consequence, they consider it of more importance than the white, which from its similarity to the sperm they believe is also supplied by the male. What they call the red point is, according to their opinion, the really vital part, because they have observed that when this is missing, the egg does not hatch in spite of having the other male element, the white, which is of secondary value.

The female contribution is represented by the yolk. They have found on opening a hen that inside it has the so-called "ovarium" containing the yolks or ova, and they believe that this is the only part that nature assigns to the hen.

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*756 834 833 Referring to the sexual aspect, we have the following facts: 1) a woman of licentious habits can never get to exercise the office of shaman; the spirit would never take up residence within her; 2) the unmarried woman who is initiated into the profession may have sexual relations only when she marries in accordance with established rites, but with certain limitations. [29] She may cohabit with her husband, and exclusively with him, in spite of the phrases used by the spirit at the time of initiation, "You may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband," but she must carry out the sexual act quickly and get up from the matrimonial hammock as soon as it is finished; for if not, they will see in the doorway of their habitation a shadow, in appearance like a civilizado, who will speak into her ear saying: "I do not like your sleeping with your husband because you do not belong to him. You are mine, you are my loved one." The woman therefore must perform coitus as hurriedly as if she were committing a crime.

*756 842 When a woman shaman marries, her spirit advises her as follows: "So that you may not have children, since you are always with your husband in spite of my prohibition, put skeins of wool on your wrists and on your ankles and around your waist like a sirapo [loincloth], and tie a piece of onion to the wool." The Indian woman who related this said that she had obeyed the spirit's instructions in every detail, and she had never had any more children. The spirit demanded a gold necklace from her as recompense for its counsel.

*756 834 776 767 Another female shaman with whom we had the opportunity to converse recounted the following to us: When she married, the spirit told her that it cared for her no longer. When she inquired the cause of this, the spirit replied that it was due to the fact that after having been with her husband, she had a smell of male goat, an odor which it did not like. The shaman explained to the spirit that she had married because her parents had sold her. The spirit was quite angered with her and had no wish to return to inspire her; it did not want her to marry because she belonged to it and not to anyone else. Finally it agreed to the formula that she might cohabit with her husband but must not linger over the sexual act.

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755 expert in these sicknesses and who devote themselves to applying the remedies and divining the causes of such illnesses indicate by what bird the fruit which the mother ate was contaminated. Once the origin of the sickness has been determined, they proceed to carry out the method of cure which entails hunting and capturing the bird responsible, which, once killed, is roasted, and the meat fed to the child. A sancocho [stew] is also prepared, using portions of the bird, a good part of which is fed to the child. With this medicine the infant should be quickly cured. If this does not effect a cure, the divination has been incorrectly made, and it was not that kind of bird that pecked at the fruit eaten by the mother during her pregnancy. The whole process must therefore be done over again to discover with absolute certainty what animal caused the child's sickness.

843 753 If a pregnant woman should eat the meat of a hen that has been killed by a sparrow hawk, the child will be born sickly, his excretions will be green, and his crying will be like the cry of a hawk. When they do not know the origin of the sickness, they 755 apply home remedies or those of any local curer [curandero]. If [757] these do not bring about the desired effect, then they must turn to divination. The diviner will decide that the mother ate the flesh of a chicken that had been killed by a sparrow hawk. The curing method will follow a similar process to that previously noted: a hawk is found and killed; a leg of the creature is taken, and the bone is well cleaned and allowed to dry. When it is sufficiently dry it is boiled, and the child's body bathed with the resulting infusion.

262 825 ●842 888 The meat of such a hen — contaminated by the hawk which had eaten some of it — is also harmful to children in general, boys and girls, and also adults. Every time it is eaten it causes sterility. For this reason the magic taboo on this meat is lifted only for the old and the very aged who have already lost their procreative powers and in consequence have nothing to fear in this respect.

756 Household medicine. This system of medicine, which, as we have said, is independent of shamans and diviners, is based above all on the practice of certain magic practices directly

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766 751 In these magic practices we can observe the following facts: 1) The burial of the first-born infant face downward in a funeral urn prevents succeeding children dying in the same way. If he is buried face upward, the future children will all unfailingly die. The spirit of the child is, then, like that of all other [775] dead adults, a spirit capable of doing harm, but its influence can be easily counteracted by varying the normal position of the head at the time of burial. 2) There is here the intervention of a special tree, the huruwá, the reason for which is at present unknown to us but which presupposes its possessing certain magic properties, as it is below this tree and no other that the body of the first-born must be buried. 3) The presence of the father or of the mother at the moment of burial would cause the death of their future children, which corroborates the above statement [775 842] that the spirit of the dead, even that of the newborn child, by its death makes its influence felt in the matter of conception, as we have seen in other cases. (Cf. "Magic and Sacrifice" and "Sickness and Medicine"). 4) The mother has to undergo or relive the ceremonial of the initiation rite as this, which is also directly connected with magic, prepares a woman for her life as such. If we make an analysis we can presume or reproduce the mental processes of the Indian in this case. If the initiation rite has as its special function the preparation of the woman for her place in society and in the family and if, in spite of it, the first-born – which implicates one of her principal functions: conception – dies, it must mean that the said rite was not carried out in all solemnity, all and each of its [87] fundamental parts were not complied with, and it is necessary to repeat them. The mother of a dead first-born is placed then in the condition of an adolescent.

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858 We said in one of the sections in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine" that the child is regarded by primitives as a being defenseless up to a certain point, and that for this reason he needs

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Twenty six fundamental kinship terms by which the Goajiro designate their relatives were recorded. Most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type. Among the Goajiro, kinship terms are almost exclusively used in reference, while in addressing a person teknonyms are employed, e.g.; nïshi pïichí – father of pïichí (nï – prefix, 3rd pers. singl. masc.; (a)shi – father; pïichí – baciro). The term corresponds to a male person who is the father of a boy child. This practice of teknonymy presupposes the presence of personal names. Either sex can be given a name in remembrance of an event which occurred on their birthday, e.g., "the one of the full moon," "the one of the blossoms of that tree," "the one of the war between . . .," etc. More frequently, however, personal names differ from each other by sex. Boys are called after strong and wild animals, such as baciro (pïichí), tiger (karáira), pig (pïrïkï), wild cat (músï), while girls' names are ornamental and flattering, e.g., "brilliant one" (hʌrótsï), brownish one (murśachong), etc.

The teknonym employed to address a person is derived from the name of the eldest son, and in default of sons, from that of the eldest daughter. Personal names are used in addressing unmarried persons. It is a disgrace, however, for an adult not to have children. Grandparents may be called by a teknonym referring either to a son or to a grandchild.

Kinship terms are never employed in the forms as listed above, but only with possessive prefixes, e.g., tashí – my father; pïshií – your father; nïshí – his father; ïshí – her father; washí – our father; hashí – your (pl.) father; nashí – their father. In the table, kinship terms are represented by their root forms. As a friendly gesture, people may address each other by general terms such as "brother," "sister," etc., or they may call any small child "son" or "grandchild."

Of particular interest is the distinction the Goajiro make between "blood-relatives" and "flesh-relatives." Blood-relatives are all patrilineally related persons, whereas "flesh-relatives" are related to Ego through the mother's line. Kinship ties between flesh-relatives are considered to be stronger than those existing between blood-relatives. In practical life this would mean that Ego would have to help his maternal uncle in a fight against his own father. Among all kinsmen the maternal uncle possesses the greatest authority and his word counts most in all domestic affairs. Frequently, therefore, we find the extended family clustered around the homestead of the maternal uncle, which makes the Goajiro a matrilineal avunculocal society. Otherwise residence is matrilocal. Any one of the three arśur-relatives (maternal uncle), as listed in the table above, may replace the true maternal uncle in case of his death. But only his sister's children can be heirs of his possessions (including his wife or wives).

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

later, for he has been brought up always to try and make things right.

During her period of isolation a girl also learns how to satisfy her husband erotically and always to be ready, when he is excited. To retain his love she may employ magic as well as her own natural powers of attraction. Knowing that a woman loses some of her looks and attraction during pregnancy, wives often try, after having had several children, to hinder fertilization by taking certain herbal drugs and by magical means.

'Polygamy is permitted, is it not, Mauana?'

'Yes, a man can take several wives. As long as he pays the bride-price, no one can say anything, but her family would never allow a better-class girl to become the second wife of anyone. And you see, custom decrees that a Guajiro wife, whether the first or a concubine, must acquiesce if the husband takes a new wife. Similarly, it is considered that wives ought to live in peace and friendship. They must receive a new concubine cordially and all show their best side to the husband. They must help each other to watch the children and not display jealousy if the husband prefers one to the others.

'That is how it should be, but the reality is quite different. Very often the wives live in the same house, which naturally leads to conflict more easily than when each has her own hut. Jealousy or envy are common in these harems. Enmity and quarrelling are not infrequent, nor is actual fighting. The wives spy upon each other, destroy each other's things and make all sorts of scenes. One or other perhaps comes to hate the husband. It is said that a certain man, who shall be nameless, had noticed something of the sort and did not dare to be at home while a family feud lasted. An enemy could have bribed one of his wives to put poison in his maize beer.'

'That does not sound pleasant!'

'No, polygamy undoubtedly has its drawbacks!' Mauana agreed. 'I myself have only one wife, but several bed slaves,' he added with an artful look in his eye.

Even though all a man's marriages are considered legal,

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

to marry his partner, he must pay for her in the normal way. Otherwise the young men and girls just give each other mementoes.

One of the games forming part of the dance of the kid is the so-called virginity test. The girls gather round a singer who improvises a variation of the theme: 'Let us see, pretty maid, if you have kept your innocence, if any man's hands have touched your body.' He then runs his hands over each girl in turn from the tip of her big toe, over her leg, knee, crotch, belly, chest and neck to the crown of her head, all the while trying to tickle her. Whoever neither laughs nor moves is declared a virgin and lauded by the singer. She goes and stands on one side, while those who cannot keep from laughing and so are not virgins, go to the other. Afterwards pretence presents are given to the 'virgins'.

When young people are gathered together as during the dance of the kid festival, all sorts of dance-games and pantomimes are performed. Some are connected with fertility rites, as those imitating the mating-play of turtles and goats. In the latter, the girl 'goats' are enclosed in a ring of men who try to prevent the male 'goats' from getting inside it. If any of the youths manage to leap in, they behave exactly like billy goats, pursuing the 'nannies', nosing at them and pretending to mount them. A number of the games have no erotic connection, but refer to all sorts of events in the lives of men and animals. Animals are imitated most faithfully.

One of the games depicts a meeting between the lowlanders and highlanders of Guajira. Each of the two sides has a singing leader. They exchange greetings and then each describes the situation in their homes: in the one plenty of rain, good harvests, plenty to eat and fat cattle; in the other drought, starvation and misery.

Those who are lucky with their climate then invite the others to their territory, and they all dance off in the same direction. The game is a reference to the fact that the lowlanders have the right against payment to send their herds to upper Guajira at certain times of the year to graze.

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the demon of illness and death, Wanuru, is called Jirarai 756
Wanuru is the name of all the spirits of the dead which are 776
many, thus we are obviously dealing here with groups of spirits; and where Wanuru acts as guardian or assistant spirits, they no doubt represent the souls of dead medicine men.

One piache, known as a clever rain-maker, told us that 756
when he needed advice over rain-making, he used to go to 776
the burial place to talk with his dead brother's spirit, the brother having been cleverer at it than he. When a piache 789
has to make rain, he seats himself on his stool as for other functions, chews tobacco, shakes his maracs and rhythmically moves his torso and head. He then begins to sing in a high voice, calling upon the spirits and demanding that they bring rain, for people need it, if they are not to die of hunger. Now and again he emerges and dances round the huts, driving away the spirits that are preventing the rain from coming.

The Indians often first try to make rain without the 789
piache's help, by drumming at night or by firing guns and 821
arrows at the clouds. The drumming imitates thunder and can thus, according to the laws of magic, cause storms. The shooting drives away the spirits that are preventing the cloud from dispensing its rain. This is also what they do at eclipses of the sun, when all burst into tears and shoot at the sky to drive away the evil spirit that is preventing the sun from shining. A piache's own spirit does not interfere in his magic-making, for which he uses none but auxiliary [775]
spirits. It is not till after his death that a piache's spirit can become active and help some other piache.

The piache has to submit to certain restrictions on diet 756
and love-life. He or she must never have extra-marital 834
intercourse and even marital intercourse must be restricted. A female piache must never spend the night with her husband, but merely pay him fleeting visits that should be as short as possible; she must never allow herself to be caressed by him, and must lie quite still and indifferent during [833]
coition. If this is not done, her guardian spirit will be jealous
and angry, and may cause trouble. And, preferably, she 751
842

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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ought not to have children. The spirits can show her various magical tricks to avoid this, but if she should become pregnant, she can count on the spirit's help in labour. Not even the male piache is allowed to partake of love more than fleetingly, almost casually. There must be no real affection involved.

A woman piache cannot practice during menstruation. No piache may eat meat from animals he has received in payment for his services. These, like other gifts, he does not enjoy, but he can give them to his sons. Nor is he allowed to eat meat from animals sacrificed at funerals or such feasts. While invoking or conjuring spirits he should restrict his diet to maize gruel.

A piache can cure all, but not himself. Sometimes, perhaps, a sympathetic spirit may give him a little advice, which will always help; but if he falls seriously ill, he summons a colleague, who performs the usual sorcery. When a piache dies, his rattle, diadem and other attributes are chopped up and buried in some remote and secret place. The dead piache's soul roams like those of all mortals and often clings to the burial place, but it is never alone, being always in company with its guardian spirit. Both can later help a new piache.

The medicine man is thus called to his profession by revelation and no attention is paid to sex, social position or age. Women have been magicians in Guajira from of old, as is shown by their myths. The piache belongs to two worlds: those of man and of the spirits. He has not chosen to belong to them and must continue in both. He is the intermediary between these two worlds, but nowadays his influence is dwindling. As civilization penetrates the peninsula, the part he plays is becoming less and less important.

The first really great piache was Umaralá, of whom the Indians relate the following:

In the olden days there were plenty of piaches who took big fees, but did little. Umaralá made his cures with secret remedies and with songs accompanied on his maraca rattle. He lost his mother early, but was adopted as her own by his maternal aunt, who also considered all her possessions his.